Nicholas Clifford On "China: The Roots Of Madness" ....Page 5

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Students Plan Anti-Draft Protest At Local Board

Middlebury students opposed to the Vietnam War and the Selective Service System are organizing a week of anti-war activities including leafletting, door-to-door canvassing, an on-campus rally, and a "sit - in vigil" at the local draft board.

The rally and sit-in, scheduled for Thursday, March 19, will coincide with demonstrations at draft boards and induction centers around the country. These local actions are planned as part of national "Anti-Draft Week," a four-day campaign sponsored by the New Mobilization Committee and supported by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee.

A second Coalition-sponsored planning session for "Anti-Draft Week" will be held Sunday night at 7:30 p. m. in Proctor Lounge. All interested students and faculty members are invited.

Winter-Spring Offensive

The New Mobe and the Moratorium coordinated the massive "March on Washington" last November 15. "Anti - Draft Week" marks the start of their "winter-spring offensive" to end the war in Vietnam.

Plans for the Middlebury protest were discussed Tuesday night by a group of 70 students at a meeting called by the Student Coalition.

Rally on Proctor Terrace

Middlebury students, faculty members, townspeople, and high school students will be urged to attend a brief rally on Proctor Terrace at noon next Thursday. Speakers will discuss the draft, the war, the Nixon Administration's "Vietnamization" policy, and U. S. Military involvement in Laos.

From Proctor, the demonstrators will march down College Street to the Municipal Building where they will picket the town offices and conduct a short "sit-in vigil" in the lobby outside the local draft headquarters.

Public Health Hazard

Students will attempt to discuss the war and related issues with town employees inside the building. The group will also place a quarantine notice on the door of the draft board, condemning it as a "Public Health Hazard."

The Thursday demonstration will be preceded by three days of leafletting and canvassing activities. Students will distribute anti-war literature and draft counseling information at Middlebury Union High School and at various other locations in town. A group will be at the Snow Bowl tomorrow to hand out leaflets publicizing the draft board action.

High School Involvement

At the Coalition meeting Tuesday night, the importance of involving local high school students was repeatedly stressed. Coalition members hope to contact interested MUHS students and arrange a meeting at the high school to discuss the war and the draft.

On campus next week the Coalition plans to circulate a

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Art Majors Oppose Studio Staffing Policy, Ask Change

By NANCY GRIMES

Seventy students majoring in art have signed a petition opposing their Department's newly instituted policy for staffing the studio arts program.

The petition urges "that tenure be granted to studio teachers who deserve it" and "that a visiting artist be hired to come to Middlebury for a certain amount of time during the school year."

The students prefer this plan to the one initiated earlier this winter, under which studio positions will be granted only on a visiting non-tenured basis.

Art Majors Meet

Art majors met last Wednesday to discuss their alternative proposal and to form a student advisory committee of twenty students. Prof. Turner, chairman of the Art Department, had suggested that such a group be organized last fall, but the students did nothing about it at that time.

Three majors met with Turner on Tuesday of this week to present the petition to him and explain their opposition to the new policy. Their main points were outlined in the petition:

"As different artists come to the school each year, or each semester, new points of view will certainly be brought to the campus. However, the studio area of the department does have a central aim, and that is to teach the students the basics of visual language, and to help them explore their own way of seeing. This aim can be be realized by tenured studio teacher-artists who have time to get to know students and are here long enough to set up a consistent, well organized program."

In the official statement explaining the reasons for establishing the new policy, Professor Turner said that "the Department believes that the rural isolation of Middlebury is inimical to the full growth of a promising artist should he remain here for an extended period of time."

Experience and Growth

In their petition, the majors reply that "the tenured artist

(Continued on page 2)

Environmental Quality Activist Plans Conference, Anti-Pollution Campaign

By CIDDY ARING

"The major problem in pollution, says Bart Hall, chairman of Middlebury's Environmental Quality Group, "is not industry but the average American citizen, students included, who, in search for economic security and The American Dream, provide the market for huge numbers of useless items."

Pollution is not the problem, Hall maintains, rather it is only a symptom of a sick society. "You can't cure a disease by curing the symptoms — that can only make it hurt a little less." To fight pollution effectively, he feels is to fight the whole tradition that for something to be good, it's got to be bigger, better, faster and more expensive.

Hall finds it a "drastic necessity" to awaken Middlebury students to more active concern and awareness of many problems outside the college campus. To further this goal, Hall and the Environmental Quality Group have planned a series of activities aimed at educating the people of Middlebury and Vermont about the ecological problems facing us today.

Ecology Conference

The EQG will sponsor The Environmental Action Conference Saturday, March 21 through March 22. The Conference will discuss preparations for Earth Day, April 22; and possible methods of co-ordinating the various ecology organization programs throughout Vermont have been invited to attend the conference.

A group of approximately 75-100 people from high schools, colleges, businesses in Vermont have been invited to attend the Conference. The students, faculty members, and townspeople of Middlebury have also been asked to contribute their ideas.

Forum for Ideas

Hall hopes that the conference will develop into a "glorified bull session," a forum for the exchange and development of ideas. The Conference will consist of a series of lectures and seminars moving from a discussion of "Individual Ecology" to the "Economics of Pollution Control." The $3.50 registratin fees and contributions

Continued on page 3

College Council Approves Frat Rush Program

Last Monday, College Council discussed plans for spring fraternity rush, and increasing problems in the dormatories.

The College Council accepted the Interfraternity council's proposal to institute spring rush this year, and winter rush in the following years. These plans especially benefit freshmen who will be charged a social fee for the spring and will have full access to the fraternity houses one term earlier than under the present rush system.

Rushing will begin at 4:30 p. m. April 10, when freshmen will sign in at the different houses. April 11, freshmen will visit any houses they wish, and on the next day, bids will be given out. The social fee for the spring will be about $25. The proposal will be submitted

Continued on page 2

Liberal Lt. Gov. Hayes Opposes Deane Davis

By TED HOBSON

Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hayes announced his intention to run for governor of Vermont recently. The announcement signalled the official break between Hayes and incumbent Governor Deane C. Davis, a fellow Republican.

Hayes' announcement was rather unique for several reasons. While declaring his candidacy, the Lieutenant-Governor refused to say which political party it is that he is running in. Furthermore, he declared his candidacy without discussing any specific programs that are different with the Governor's present administration. He says he plans to work them out later in the campaign.

Varied Reaction

The unexpected candidacy met varied reaction. House majority leader Walter Kennedy, R-Chelsea, called the announcement "wonderful news, a breath of fresh air." Deane Davis, not unexpectedly, was less enthusiastic, "neither surprised nor disappointed." On the right, **The Burlington Free Press**, Vermont's largest daily, ran an editorial entitled "The Sad Case of Lt. Gov. Hayes. In the advance obituary the paper identified Hayes as somewhat of a psychopath, declaring "The people of Vermont can only feel sorry for this confused man" who suffers "a split from reality." The paper graciously extended its "feeling of pity" to "this confused man." Having already celebrated Hayes' political demise, the Free Press will surely find little reason to cover the remainder of the Hayes Campaign.

Background

Hayes' background is not one that would endear him to the **Free Press.** An aide to Republican Senator Winston Prouty for seventeen years, Hayes has

Lt. Gov. Thomas Hayes

not shied from political controversy. He has opposed the Davis handling of student demonstrations (or in the case of Middlebury, student non-demonstrations), the cut of theBrandon Training School budget, and opposed Davis most spetacularly last November, when Hayes endorsed the March on Washington, even while many liberal

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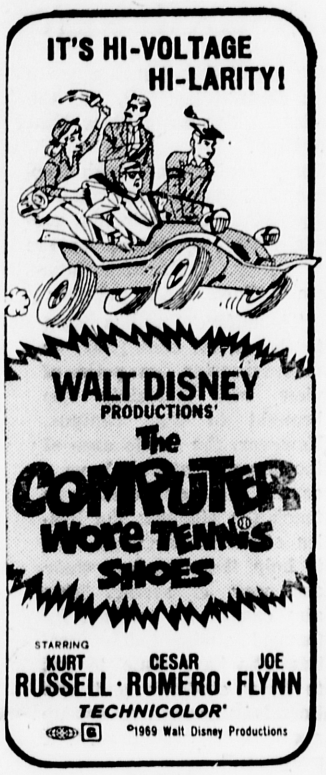

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AT 9

Film: Roots Of Madness

Continued from page 8

matic recognition, trade, cultural exchange and the like would certainly make the situation no worse that it is now, and might indeed make it somewhat better. But to think that by such actions we, or the UN, could effect a change in China's relations with the outside is evidence of the paternalistic attitude of wishful thinking that our missionaries, educators, traders, and diplomats allowed themselves to indulge in before 1949.

Studio Arts...

Continued from page 1

and not the department must choose whether or not his prolonged stay at Middlebury is hurting his work. In this respect it is important to note that the visiting artists will enlarge the experience and aid the growth of tenured teachers as well as that of students."

Turner's official statement also says "any significant increase in the studio staff is unlikely in the foreseeable future. . ."

The students, recognizing that it may be financially impossible to add a visiting artist in addition to the two existing ones, stated that "if it is not feasible . . .we feel that the present system is too valuable to throw away, and that it can teach students the basics of visual language much better than a constantly changing group of untenured artists."

Meeting Next week

The student advisory committee will meet sometime next week with Prof. Turner, who told **The Campus** he "is glad that we now have an official organ with which to discuss departmentals."

He plans to explain the policy further, for he feels "the differences are ones of misunderstanding." He cited specifically the students' assumption that more than two studio art teachers would be financially possible.

Turner also attributed some of the confusion surrounding the policy change to a mistake in **The Campus** reporting of it. The January 15 issue of the newspaper reported that Associate Professor Bruce Muirhead was not considered for tenure because under the new studio policy he would not be eligible for permanent appointment. Muirhead and Instructor David Bumbeck are the Department's present "studio men."

Muirhead Denied Tenure

According to Turner, Muirhead was considered for tenure and denied it before the policy was instituted.

Bumbeck was not up for tenure this year but because of the policy change he will not be eligible to receive a permanent appointment.

Both he and Muirhead have been given special contracts that will allow them to remain at Middlebury for up to three years before going elsewhere. The students did not ask that the Muirhead tenure decision be reviewed or that the new studio policy not apply to Bumbeck.

Commenting on the student proposals, Turner said, "I would see a proposal of this sort as a statement of concern for which we are grateful" He indicated, however, that he does not think the new studio policy will be changed.

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College Council

Continued from page 1

to the Trustee's Prudential Committee when it meets this weekend.

In the dorms there has been a great problem with theft of furniture, especially from the lounges. It was suggested that a $5 fine be imposed at the first offense, $10 and disciplinary action for the second offense, and expulsion for the third offense.

Vandalism was also discussed. Recently a professor's books were thrown out of his office window, a chair was thrown off the porch of the Social and Dining Units, and dormitory doors and windows have been smashed.

Starting next fall, no pets will be allowed in the dormitories. An article in **The Campus** and a letter to all students this summer will explain the reasons. The first time a student is found with an animal, he will be charged $25, the second time he will be fined $25 and placed on probation, the third time he will be expelled.

NEWS SHORTS

Senate Debates Salaries

After deliberating for two and a half hours, the Student Senate Sunday night failed to agree whether students in extracurricular activities should receive salaries. Some staff members of **The Campus, Kaleidoscope** and WRMC currently receive salaries which are drawn from the Student Activities Fee that the Senate controls. Some Senators have proposed that the salaries be abolished.

In other business, the Senate elected David Kunhardt to sit on the College Council in place of Karla Baehr, who has a schedule conflict.

The term of Student Senators ends March 31. Five members-at-large will be elected from this year's Senate to conduct regular Senate elections later this Spring.

The Senate Sunday night will discuss 1) the problem of books stolen from the library, and the desirability of a manned turnstile; 2) a request for money to finance a film about Middlebury; 3) freshman arrangements; 4) and election of two freshman to the Freshman Counseling Committee.

Draft Information

A draft information center has been set up on campus, in Room 44 of Hillcrest Annex. The room, on the second floor, is always open. Counseling is available Saturday afternoons. Anyone interested in helping in the operation of the center is welcome, and should contact Jeff Brown, Mark Ellenberger, or Ron Johansson.

Debating Success

Last weekend the Middlebury debate and individual events squad, coached by Dale DeLetis, traveled to New Haven to participate in a tournament at Southern Connecticut State College. In the tournament, in which schools from all over the country were represented, Middlebury won the overall sweepstakes by a wide margin.

In individual events Middlebury students placed in three categories. Diana Durham was third in Original Oratory, Pam Phillip placed third in After Dinner Speaking, and the team of Ellie Donkin and Pam Phillip placed fifth in Dramatic Pairs. In debate Middlebury also excelled. The Varsity team of Jim Pratt and Connie Brittain placed second and were named second and fifth best varsity speakers, respectively. The team of Robert Buxbaum and Joanne Paris won first place in Novice debate and Buxbaum was named fourth best novice speaker. The other two teams that went, also debated well and helped to compile the current record of 21 wins and 7 defeats.

Environment...

Continued from page **1**

will cover the cost of meals and dorm accommodations for the out-of-town guests who will be attending the conference.

Earth Day

EQG has also formulated plans for Earth Day, April 22. Hall has organized panel discussions and teach-ins concerning a variety of pollution problems and the pollution legislation presently being considered in Congress. The afternoon of the 22nd will be devoted to writing letters to Senators and the distribution of pamphlets. Hall feels that these letters and the awareness of these problems on the part of students and townspeople is vital to the Vermont pollution program.

The EQG has also initiated a major anti-phosphate campaign designed to inform the public of the inherent dangers of phosphates. The Group has been distributing leaflets containing analyses of the quantity of phosphates found in various detergents.

One pound of Tide (the largest selling nationwide detergent and also one highest in phosphate content-44 percent) contains enough nutrients to grow almost a quarter-ton of algae, creating a serious pollution problem in streams and lakes. Mr. Peabody has agreed that the college bookstore might consider carrying another brand of detergent and the co-operation of the student body in this area will be appreciated.

Middlebury Smokestacks

The EQG has recently completed gathering samples for a study of matter emitted from smokestacks in the Middlebury area. In spring, the group intends to trace pollution sources to their specific locations on Otter Creek.

As for the individual's part in pollution prevention, Hall said:

"We're trying to change the throw-away mentality in American society, e. g. no deposit bottles. The resource base just can't take it and there's no place to put the waste. An average person in America disposes of 6 1-2 pounds of solid waste every day. America has 6 percent of the world's population yet uses over 1-2 of the world's resources. The American system has got to go — it's to exploitative.

"We're trying to push towards recycling of resources — the reinstitution of returnable bottles. Kids should start asking stores for returnable bottles. They should be more careful of what they throw away. A good motto is, 'Use it up, wear it out, and make it do.' The idea that convenience should be the foremost consideration in structuring your society has got to go.' "

Hall would like to see the College ban all cars except in case of proven necessity. He feels this is impractical, though, because he doesn't believe the Middlebury student is willing to surrender his freedom to go skiing when and where he wants to. "People just don't like to make personal sacrifices."

Hall believes that American will eventually be required to change its economic system from one which classifies luxuries as necessities to one that is based upon usefulness and practicality. The belief that growth and progress are inherently good, must be altered radically he feels.

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Steve Early, Editor-in-Chief

Ted Hobson, Managing Editor — Gar Miller, Advertising Manager
Phil Pillsbury, Business Editor — Birgit Jacobsen, Comptroller
Nancy Grimes, News Editor — Carolyn Kroll, Nancy Savage, Circulation
Karin Abarbanel, Features Editor — Photographer — Skip Atwater

Contributors — Bud Allen, Ciddy Aring, John Bell, Ana Cara, Shelly Fedyck, Dan Gillmore, Drew Knowland, Peter Lewis, Bob Metzger, Eric Samp, Bill Wellington.

Editorial

Studio Art Controversy: Time For Further Action

In a petition circulated and signed last week, over seventy Art majors have expressed strong opposition to their Department's recent decision to staff studio art positions on a non-tenured basis. The official explanation for that move was given in the statement released in December by Art Department chairman Richard Turner. It is no more convincing now than it was then.

According to Turner, one reason for the policy change is the unlikelihood of "any significant increase" in the studio art staff "in the foreseeable future." The Art majors realize that student interest in studio art courses is increasing and they want to know why the staff is not being expanded to meet the growing demand. They believe that instructors in the two existing studio positions should be eligible for tenure and that a third studio position should be created for "visiting artists." Turner maintains that the College cannot afford an additional studio man. "To bring variety and fresh points of view to a campus which is relatively isolated from the major centers of art," he intends to staff the studio positions with "artists in residence" who would have appointments of one to four years. The art students who signed the petition certainly favor variety and new viewpoints; that is why they want a "visiting artist" program that would supplement the existing staff arrangement by bringing in an additional artist-instructor on a part-time basis.

If it is not financially possible to hire such a person, they propose that the old system be retained. They believe that only "tenured studio teacher/artists" can develop a lasting rapport with students and "a consistant, well organized program." With constant rotation of staff, they feel the studio art majors will suffer. Students will not be able to work under the same artist throughout their undergraduate careers and visiting artists who might like to remain at Middlebury will not be able to do so.

While showing an admirable concern for the future of the studio arts at Middlebury, the Art majors' petition ignores the plight of the man most affected by the new staffing policy. Assistant Professor Bruce Muirhead is widely acknowledged to be an excellent teacher and a young artist of great promise. He enjoys considerable popularity among students and his courses are invariably oversubscribed. (This year, for example, one-hundred and sixty-four students picked his Winter term painting course as their first choice.)

It is not enough for the art majors to propose that in the future "tenure be granted to studio teachers who deserve it." Bruce Muirhead deserved tenure and he did not receive it. Nor can students assume that he was denied tenure simply because there are no tenured positions available under the new studio arrangement. According to Turner, the decision about Muirhead — made before the announcement of the new policy — was made independent of it.

Turner told Muirhead that he was one of the best teachers Middlebury has ever had but that there were "other considerations" involved in the refusal to grant tenure.

Art majors and indeed all students should be asking just what those "other considerations" are. They should demand not only reversal of the new studio policy, but also immediate review of the Muirhead tenure case. Students at Middlebury must come to the defense of faculty members who are denied tenure for reasons unrelated to their teaching ability. The collge is not so rich in faculty talent that it can afford to lose a teacher like Bruce Muirhead.

(Harry Crews Was Here Last Friday)

By SYLVIA VAINE

Mr. Martin's introduction knew no bounds. It was almost embarrassing. The experience of reading Harry Crews's novels was compared to that of reading the work of Melville and Milton and Faulkner. When Mr. Martin finished, Crews got up.

He could have passed for a spiffily-dressed blind man (his little eyes were sunk so that there were just two darknesses where eyes should be), wearing green bell-bottoms, a black turtle-neck and a blue yachtsman's type coat, three buttons. He was a big man with a Julius Caesar haircut, his sideburns spreading over towards the corners of his mouth.

Tour-de-Force

At first, the accent might have been a put on. But no, he really talked Southern — like "a house a-far." He didn't stand on the stage. Instead, he stalked around in the area between the front row in Dana and the stage proper, reaching out, getting a "holt" of his audience, preaching. His hands slashed about in the air around his head, an event, a phenomenon. No notes, not what you could call a lecture even. Pure tour-de-force.

And what did he have to say? That no strict forms exist, but that there are as many different forms as there are writers; that every writer wants to be the very best one he can be. He mentioned some contemporary writers whom he considered good but not, as he said, great. He said he doesn't like the "Southern" which is inevitably prefixed to the "writer" whenever writers from the South are being discussed; that for those men writing in the post - Faulknerian, Faulkner's presence is everywhere, his rhetoric being "the sea around us." He explained that much of the romanticism and sentimentality of the writers of Faulkner's era was the product of the South's memory of what it was to be conquered and occupied; and he said that romanticism and sentimentality have disappeared.

Southern Renaissance

Harry Crews said that he did not even consider himself to be a member of the Southern Renaissance, whatever that might be. Indeed, he said he felt a greater affinity for the work of Samuel Becket than for that of his fellow-Southern-Renaissance writers.

Last of all, he read two selections from his novels. And that was it. He got a lot of applause, made a quick Ravi Shankar bow of thanks, and people began putting on their coats.

Hayes Discusses Campaign

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politicians wavered. The resultant uproar saw David stage a counter-demonstration in Montpelier to show support for the President. The Silent Majority apparently did not attend the Davis demonstration, for the turnout was sparse, consisting mostly of Davis aides, VFW's and sightseers.

Hayes attributes his candidacy to "philosophical differences" with the Governor and a conviction that the Governor's "misdirection" was resulting in an "administration that tends to be a 'non-people' administration in terms of orientation."

In an interview with **The Campus**, Hayes described the Governor as a "captive of the aides surrounding him" — Hackett, (fiscal), Moulton (public relations) and Reed (legal). He listed the failures of the Governor as stemming from political maneuvers not human responsibility:

— The Governor's investigation of welfare recipients with Pinkerton Agency detectives. ("If I were a potential welfare recipient, I'd probably refuse it.")

—"He has cut mental health programs over the last couple of years — he did last year — and this year I investigated two mental institutions and through this investigation think I forced him to do something decently."

— The program for children "should be over a million-dollar program by now" but is "considerably under one-half million."

— "His attitude toward young people at the time of the UVM trustee fight," which was "out of tone with the generation. . . that wants a voice and will work within the system if we give it a chance but without it if necessary."

Hayes is presently running on his past record, though he will undoubtedly find a number of important issues of contention before the campaign is far along. He currently discusses his past achievements, particularly in human welfare, and attacks the Governor's "back-room clique of advisors."

Hayes generally makes an honest attempt to answer questions, and is open-minded on virtually any issue. As such, he is not a liberal by nature, but by continual persuasion. He is extremely interested in problems and aspirations of the lems and aspirations of the young, and is searching for some sort of solution to the rise in drug use.

Unlike Davis, who advocates police tactics that would be worthy of Ronald Reagan, Hayes thinks that police action is only "buying time," and finds a need to search for solutions to the problems that provoke violent demonstrations. Above all, Hayes is disarmingly sincere, willing to debate any topic, and the first to admit that he does not have all of the answers.

Hayes commented for **The Campus** on some current Vermont and national issues:

The State Budget: "I call it a middle-of-the-road budget this time, and in terms of total expenditures, it's quite sizeable. But when a decision comes as to top priorities, I don't see why we should neglect these key human areas simply because they're not politically returnable." Hayes admits his administration would spend more money,but to "bring in greater

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Letters

Classics

To the Editor:

The best thing about the recent turmoil over the future of Classics at Middlebury is the publicity the department is receiving for the first time. If the so-called "demise" of the department had happened last year, literally no one would have noticed it, except one teacher (the one who is about to leave), one junior major and one freshman, who came to Middlebury explicitly in order to major in Classics. The enrollment in Latin 201 (freshman Latin) was down to 4, in Elementary Greek to 4 in the first semester, and to 2 in the second semester. I leave it up to the reader to figure out the reasons behind this lowest enrollment in the language courses in the history of the department.

This year, with enrollments encouragingly high, we had a good chance to attract a first-rate Classicist to Middlebury, first as a Visiting Professor, then possibly as a permanent member of the department. However, when this person of international reputation is told to her face by a member of the department that she would have no chance to receive tenure at Middlebury, because the department has already two tenured members on its staff, one can hardly blame the administration for not taking any further steps towards the hiring of a third person. The person interviewed, it is true, happened to be another woman and fairly close in age to the two tenured members of the department. In her qualifications however as a top-notch scholar and a literary critic she would have perfectly filled the gap between a "conservative" classicist (how can a classicist not be conservative — from **conserv-o-are** — to preserve, even if he is against the war in Vietnam and for the "pill?") (myself) and my "liberal" colleague, who plays fascinating games with Greek Drama (who is afraid of the big bad Harris?) and prefers engineering courses to language courses.

Circumstances being as they are, no good, self-respecting young classicist could be attracted to Middlebury either, since he, too, would be given to understand there would be no future for him. It was to unfreeze this deadlock that I decided to leave, so the department would be freed of at least one tenured member. It will then be up to the administration to decide whether they wish to build up the department around a "straight" classicist like myself, or a universal genius like Mr. Harris. If my humble advise would be heeded, I would suggest to give Mr. Harris a divisional appointment, which would allow him to teach whatever he wanted (Buckminster Fuller, Poetic and Artistic Analysis, Machine Courses etc.) and to hire three full time classicists, preferably one with a literary, one with an historical and one with an archeological bend. This, of course, means two additional salaries and is, therefore, a hard nut to crack at a time when money is tight.

P. S. You may interpret this letter as an indictment against the whole tenure system.

Ursula Heibges
Associate Professor of Classics

Abortion

To the Editor:

With reference to the article: "O'Brien Replies To Abortion Advocates."

I would like to point out that when we are considering the morality or immorality of abortion we are dealing not only with the word "want" but also with the word "chance." One may not want to conceive a child and subsequently may not want to bear it either. But in the act of conception one is playing with chance, while in the act of birth one clearly is not. Specifically, a human being ought to be responsible, morally responsible, to the life of a child once the event of birth has been allowed to take place. But even with the highest precautionary measures, conception often can be **out of the control** of the parent.

Allowing conception to proceed to birth (the second event, as it were) does indict the parent(s) morally and transforms mishap to murder. If birth occurs, **choice** makes the parents necessarily responsible. But conception does not necessarily make the parents responsible to birth (unless one sees every act of sex as being morally responsible to the possibility of not only a conception, but also of a birth — and I admit that this is a large "unless").

Dean O'Brien has said, "My moral worth is determined by the intention of my action no matter how fate may twist the consequences either for good or ill." I answer that if one's **intention** is not to conceive, then should not one be morally responsible to that first intention, despite the fact that fate may twist the consequences to be the opposite of one's will? The magnitude of birth carries the burden of decision to give way to that birth. But conception may overrule human intention through the fact of chance.

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"The American economic and social order is essentially irrational — unspeakably so. Economically, the system generates more surplus than it can profitably and usefully absorb. Yet it fails to meet the elemental needs of one-third of its people while engaging the others in a frantic cycle of excess work and excess consumption. Politically, it generates impotence, ignorance, and mediocrity among leaders and followers. Socially and psychologically, the American system divides men against one another and themselves. It is, by and large a cultural disaster. On the global scale, it exploits large numbers of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Though capable of satisfying men's needs on a historically unprecedented scale, America wastes and destroys human resources and minimizes the hopes of men everywhere for a more decent life. No wonder, then, that American capitalist imperialism evokes frustration, anger, even rage in its critics." — Peter Clecak in a review of Tom Hayden's new book, "Rebellion and Repression," published in The Nation.

Red China Documentary: "The Roots Of Madness"

By NICHOLAS CLIFFORD

China: The Roots of Madness, a television documentary written by T. H. White, and made in 1967, was shown on March 4th and 5th by the Geography Department, and on the first night, at least, played to an overflow crowd, as it had when shown during the winter term lecture series. Whatever one may think of the text and general outlook of the film, there is no doubt that the footage is fascinating, and conveys what must be a very accurate picture of at least certain facets of life in the country which many Old China Hands still remember so well. The Dowager Empress is there; so are American soldiers playing polo with brooms on mule-back, under the ramparts of the imperial capital. Feng Yu-hsiang, the Christian warlord, is seen inspecting his soldiers' hands, to make sure that they scrubbed their fingernails; so are the American and British Shangailanders, going to race meetings, and fox-trotting on a hotel dance floor, while a balding Englishman sings of losing his heart in old Shanghai.

Meanwhile, war, both civil and foreign, rages outside these quiet enclaves. We have glimpses of Chiang Kai - shek mustering his troops for the Northern Expedition in 1926, we accompany his biplanes as they bomb bandits (read: communists) in the interior. And we have glimpses of Mao, too; not the pudgy god, face covered with pancake make-up which the color magazines from Peking give us today, but a tall, slender young man, his hair rather longer than we imagine, looking very much the romantic revolutionary whom Edgar Snow introduced to western readers in the late 1930's. And the pictures of horror are there, too; people starving, prisoners being shot or decapitated, and the endless military campaigns which are so much a feature of modern Chinese history.

Mao: "romantic revolutionary" living "the clean, hard life" among the peasants.

There is no doubt that photographs like these are invaluable; they give a sense of immediacy which is simply unavailable in any other way. The text is something else again. I don't mean the use of the word "madness;" for a rival journal last fall I set forth my views on the question of whether or not China's policy today is irrational, and I will not repeat them here. Nor do I mean that there is an objectionable political slant in the film; indeed the students in my winter course divided about equally on whether it was pro-Chiang and American policy (the emphasis on madness, on totalitarianism, on the Chinese bomb), or pro-Mao (the emphasis on Kuomintang corruption, Kuomintang brutality, and the clean, hard life which Mao lived among the peasants in Yenan).

My objection is simply that the movie is one-dimensional, over-simplified, it is history made easy, and I am not sure whether the fault lies with the maker or the medium; are movies by nature one-dimensional? History, in any case, is not easy; it is enormously complex. Perhaps it is unfair to criticize a work which covers sixty turbulent years in eighty minutes. Yet the simplifications are dangerous, because they strengthen a fundamental misconception about our relations with China, and it is a misconception which has bedevilled us for years.

White takes us on a guided tour of some of the horrors, the agony of Chinese history since the 19th century. Fair enough. But why did these horrors come? The blame in large part is placed on the imperialists: the British who woke China from her centuries' old slumber (slumber? was China really asleep, as we so often think?) when they bombarded the Boca Tigris in 1839 and invested Canton; the Americans, French, Russians, Japanese and others who followed, demanding concessions, rights, privileges, territories.

Now, it is orthodox doctrine both in Peking and Taipei today that the most important cause of China's ills in the modern world has been precisely this imperialist aggression. But despite what Chairman Mao, President Chiang, and Mr. White tell us, I do not think that this is true. Imperialism is very, very important indeed, and modern Chinese history cannot be understood without some effort to realize what this century of aggression did to China, both physically and spiritually. But the basic reason for China's troubles lies in the fact that she has been, for the last hundred years, undergoing the enormously painful and traumatic experience of modernization. Modernization in any country is difficult; one has only to look at its history in Europe and America to realize that revolution and civil war have been the rule rather than the exception in societies undergoing this transformation.

In China, the traditional social order, which historians call "Confucian" as a kind of convenient shorthand, was built in such a way that it was both dedicated to preserving a non-modern society, and extraordinarily effective in devising means to implement that preservation. It was, for example, a society which made possible through institutional means the siphoning off of talent from trade, commerce, industry, religion — and revolution — into the established order; the potential trouble maker, were he talented, would be taken in, and re-educated to become a guardian of orthodox tradition. This was the case neither in Europe nor in Japan, where men were often forced to make careers outside the established order (for instance, in modernizing sectors of the economy) because the established order would not have them. And ultimately the establishment very often finds itself being undermined by the talents it refused to take in.

But above all the Confucian order was an agrarian one; its guardians were men whose very being depended upon the maintenance of an agrarian society. A modern economic society, built on trade, industry, and urbanism, was repellent to them; if this is what modernization meant, they would have none of it. After all, there are few elites in history who are willing to modernize themselves out of a job. And yet China, if she were to maintain her independence and self respect as a nation, must modernize too; if she modernized, the old social order must go. This is what the revolutionaries, nationalist and communist, understood. Hence, in large part, the war, violence, and bloodshed of the 19th and 20th centuries.

This explanation, of course, is also over-simplified, but I don't think that the over-simplification is dangerous. The thesis that imperialism is at the root of China's troubles is dangerous, however. Why? For the simple reason that to say that we — as participants in the imperialist game — **caused China's** failures in the modern world is to perpetuate the old paternalistic view that we are in some sense responsible for China as a nation. This is precisely the same view which in the old

(Continued on page 8)

The Vermont Railroad Free Press is being investigated by a joint committee of the Vermont Legislature. **The Railroad,** an underground newspaper with an uninhibited vocabulary, is pro-Black Panther, pro-Weatherman, and pro-Vietcong, pro-Al Fatah, and pro-Women's Liberation Front.

The Senate by a 20-8 margin called for the investigation because, as George Morse, R-Caledonia, who sponsored the motion warned, the youth of Vermont would be corrupted if newspapers of this type were allowed to be circulated in the state.

The Senate rejected arguments that they might be infringing on the freedom of the press. Sen. Ellery Purdy, R-Rutland condemned the resolution, warning, "If we start this, where will we end?" He charged that the Legislature was trying "to control thought" and was "treading on very treacherous ground."

The resolution originally contained a provision to investigate the **Vermont Freeman.** The provision was eliminated when a Senator noted that Roger Albright, Freeman editor, had flatly denied any affiliation with the newspaper.

The state legislature had apparently not seen a more comprehensive underground newspaper called **Hard Work,** a36 page tabloid distributed in Middlebury last week. Unlike the eight page **Railroad,** which contains more invective than substantive argument, **Hard Work** is explanitive in tone, featuring articles that are sharply critical of Vermont Public Education (particularly Brattleboro High School), the nation's treatment of the environment, male chauvinism, abortion laws, and the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

Hard Work's articles are longer, and, especially in the case of the Brattleboro High piece, they might well be deemed more subversive than anything in the **Vermont Railroad.** The paper is generally anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-pig, and is published by members of two communes in the Putney - Brattleboro area.

— TED HOBSON

Midd Hoopsters End 7-17, Walters And Oliver Comment

By DAN DINOLO

The Middlebury basketball team ended its season last Friday, losing to a tough RPI team by the score of 94-81. The Panthers finished with a 7-17 record (compared to last year's) which, when one considers the obstacles that they had to overcome, is not bad at all.

To begin with, the Panthers closed out their schedule against four very good teams, all of which were having fine seasons. The beginning of the end came on Feb. 25, against Amherst. A balanced scoring attack led by All-East Dave Auten (19 pts.) and superior height in the person of Phil Stec (6'9") helped the home team to open up an early 10 point lead which Middlebury never overcame, despite Rich Borwning's 20 pts. (10 for 13) and Lee Cartmill's 19 points. Jim Keyes did a good job containing Auten, who could not have minded too much, since his team won 85-74.

Back at home for Carnival, Norwich didn't give Middlebury fans much cause for celebration, as they edged out the Panthers 75-71. Jeff Plunkett's 19 points helped Norwich stave off a second half Middlebury rally paced by Lee Cartmill, who scored sixteen of his twenty-three points.

The Panthers played their last game on March 4, with St. Lawrence providing plenty of opposition. It was also the last home game ever for Co-captains Gene Oliver and Rich Bowning; and they supplied the **pyrotechniques**. The first half of play saw the lead change hands several times before Middlebury finally took a 34-30 advantage going into the locker room.

Oliver Sensational

Gene Oliver put on a sensational show in that first half, getting fourteen points and dominating the boards, along with Jimmy Keyes. Unfortunately, Geno also got himself into foul trouble. Rich Browning was also hot as he hit for ten points — all from downtown. . ."Well. . . if he had stayed on the court, we mighta won. . ."

The Panthers could not sustain their momentum and they quickly dissipated their lead in the opening minutes of the second half. To make matters worse, Geno picked up his fifth foul with 16:29 remaining, and had to sit it out the rest of the way. Bob Schneider filled in more than adequately, however, and it was nip-and-tuck from then on. With 13 seconds to play and the Panthers down by two, Jimmy Keyes took an offensive rebound and put in a clutch hookshot to send the game into overtime.

Once again Middlebury's momentum mysteriously disappeared. St. Lawrence opened the overtime frame with three quick hoops and the Panthers never threatened after that. The final score was somewhat anticlimatical, 72-64. Sophomore Bill Jenkins led the way for St. Lawrence with thirty points, while for Middlebury, Rich Browning had 22 points and Gene Oliver had 14. Lee Cartmill came through for sixteen points, putting him over the 400 point mark for a single season. He's the third Middlebury player to do so.

The team ended the season on the road with a loss to RPI. Midway through the first half, RPI rattled off 18 straight points to send the Panthers reeling. Lee Cartmill and Jimmy Keyes led a Middlebury rally in the second half, but it wasn't quite enough. Cartmill and Keyes have 23 and 17 points respectively, while Randy Brown's 25 points paced RPI.

Nothing remains now except to wait for next year. And so the season ends. "Not with a bang, but with a whimper."

By NAT AYER

"I can't single any one person out. Everybody gave blood all year, 150 percent. I don't think they could have given more." This highest of praises is what Coach Gary Walters said earlier this week of his Middlebury squad.

"Of course I'm disappointed that our record wasn't better," he continued, "but then I'm not discouraged. Five or six lettermen from last year didn't come out, and we couldn't fill that void. There aren't that many bodies in the school."

He pointed out the high number of tough, close losses. He mentioned the lack of depth. He mentioned how the team had slowed down somewhat when the flu attacked, but more importantly he stressed how the team rebounded from a miserable stretch, how their attitude and spirit never disappeared.

Walters has harped on this feeling of teamsmanship ever since before the season started. To him it is of utmost importance, and he was pleased with this '69-'70 squad.

Co-Captain Gene Oliver expressed the identical feelings. "We had a unique team here at Middlebury. It's hard to describe it to anyone who hasn't actually played with us. We were a close knit team. We had a spirit that never died. We were in every game until the last, no game was decided until the buzzer. Teams think about playing us now. They can't take us as a joke anymore."

Oliver was content with what Coach Walters did for the team. He said that him being young, just a few years older than the players, allowed him a better rapport with the team. "He could see what was going on in our minds. He was concerned about our opinions, even though he established from the very beginning that he was the coach. He made sure that discipline was adhered to. As a first year coach he was excellent." When asked if he could think of anything bad, off the record of course, he paused, thought, and then shook his head, and said, "No, not that I can think of."

Walters played the same five in every game, and he thinks strongly of them all. Rich Browning's shooting he noted will be missed sorely next year. John Flanagan's ball handling and offensive rebounding skills on defense, Gene Oliver's rebounding talents and leadership, all these people and their special skills Walter praised. As for Cartmill, Walters was particularly amazed. "His skills are not as sharp as other players', but he beats you, he beats you every time. He's the Eddie Stankey of Middlebury basketball. He was leading scorer but he can't shoot. But, he's got the greatest competitive attitude."

Walters Going to Union Next Year

So what has been the result of this winter's 7-17 season? As compared to last season's 10-14? Oliver stressed the trend ever since Gerry Alaimo came several years ago. Alaimo began the long choice of building up some prestige for the college squad. "It has been hard work (laugh), extremely hard work," Gene mused, "but the pay-off is the amount of pride that we have gotten out of it, out of what we put into the team."

Next year's team will have a new coach, which is unfortunate since Walters has put so much into familiarizing himself with the players and their abilities. Next winter another coach will have to start all over again. But the players will all be faster, more assured. This makes for better defense, better passing, and all-around greater flexibility.

Residents of Bratski, Siberia, average about 30 years of age, giving the city of some 134,000 one of the youngest populations in the world.

Hockey Falls To Colgate & Hamilton

By ROBERT BUXBAUM
And BILL WEISS

The Middlebury Panthers dropped two hockey games last weekend, losing on the road to Colgate and Hamilton. In Colgate, the Panthers faced a good Division I team, and although they played fairly well, the Panthers lost 5-3. The first goal of the game for Midd. came at 12:16 of the first period and evened the score at 1-1. Brian Iggulden centered the puck from the corner and Rick Kelley tipped it in for the score.

Later Colgate got another goal and the first period ended with Middlebury down 2-1. The Panthers were losing 3-1 by the time their next goal came at 12:15 of the second period. Jim Glynn scored the goal on a breakaway with Stan Kitman and Larry Dixon getting assists. With only nine seconds left in the period Colgate picked up another goal and the score was 4-2.

At 10:34 of the third period Brian Iggulden got the puck from Dave Norton, skated in front of the Colgate net, shot, got his own rebound, and then put it in. However Colgate had scored earlier in the period and the Panthers were still down two goals at 5-3. In the last three minutes of the game Middlebury had a golden opportunity to score as Colgate had two men in the penalty box. However, Colgate killed the penalties beautifully, completely shutting off the Panthers in the final minutes.

The 8-4 loss to Hamilton was a disaster as Hamilton skated out seemingly prepared to physically destroy any team it played. Hamilton had no chance to make division playoffs and thus in its last game did not have to worry about possible suspensions. This resulted in 19 penalties, including a 10-minute misconduct and a bench penalty.

Dave Norton and Jim Glynn took care of the Panther's first period scoring as they each picked up a goal and an assist.

The score after one period was Hamilton 3 - Middlebury 2. Each team scored one goal in the second period. The Panthers score came when Stan Kitman fed the puck to Gary Valby who waited for the goalie to go down, and scored. The last Middlebury goal came in the third period as Goose Nichols, assisted by Bill Everett and Rich Kelley, scored from a scramble in front of the net. From then on it was all Hamilton, as they scored four goals to clinch the victory 8-4.

Coach Wendy Forbes was not particularly disturbed by this loss. "They gave a lot Friday night, and with a little luck we could have won it." He pointed out that the club was worn out from the Colgate encounter, and was in no shape to play such an aggressive Hamilton team so soon, the following afternoon. He didn't excuse them completely, however. "We made a few costly mistakes, but we had the chances for some goals, but we just didn't get the puck into the net."

Candidate Hayes Discusses Plans..

Continued from page 4

returns." He says he will have to convince Vermont voters that he would spend money "more wisely."

The Environment: "I would say that that would probably be young, and is searching for some sort of solution to the rise in drug use.

Unlike Davis, who advocates police tactics that would be worthy of Ronald Reagan, Hayes thinks that police action is one of the significant areas of increase." He has not finished studying all the bills on environment that are currently in the Vermont legislature. Having a long history of support for conservationist causes, Hayes is somewhat annnoyed that the issue has become a political bandwagon with everyone jumping on. "I'm a conservationist, and I will be even when it becomes less popular to be a conservationist."

The Handicapped: "All across the needs of the handicapped haven't been placed at the levels I think they should be placed at.

Educational Television: Hayes favors "continuation of Vermont ETV at an adequate level, and that would include the maintaining of night programming, at least in a limited way."

Nixon: "The President has managed to deal with political problems, but whether he has solved questions remains to be doubted. I'm not at all confident that he's going to be able to slow down inflation without creating a recession. I'm not at all confident that all the boys will get out of Vietnam within a year. . .I'm not at all confident that the black-white confrontation will get any better; I think it may get worse. I do feel that his number-one plus is his welfare program." Hayes is counting on the Nixon Administration losing popularity during his campaign. Thus Davis, an incumbent would lose votes.

Agnew: "There is a repressive atmosphere, and when in any society the Vice-President — Agnew — becomes the third most celebrated, admired American, I think we have cause for concern." Hayes says Agnew has been criticizing the Peace Movement with "sexually unflattering references, suggesting infertile homosexual types." "Now he's using psychiatric disturbance language" — a tact recently used against Hayes by the **Free Press.**

Representation: "The one thing that an office-holder does not get from constituents is his conscience, and if he sacrifices that to his constituents, he violates everything that makes life and office worthwhile."

The Hayes Style

If Hayes is one of the more sincere politicians in an age of what he calls "sanitized liberals," he is also one of the less-polished ones. He hopes to make his less-groomed approach work in his favor, so that people will identify with him as 'their man.'

The Lieutenant Governor's announcement was an extreme example of Hayes' home-grown political flavor. A series of jumbled metaphors and obvious oversimplifications, the speech was a triumph of verbal obscurity over substantive issues.

The speech represents another Hayes dilemma. If he is to have a chance at the Governor's office, the Lieutenant-Governor must appeal to a wide spectrum of political opinion. On the left are such controversial figures as Roger Albright, who frequently considered a traitor by Vermonters; especially after having helped initiate a draft counseling service. On the right, Hayes must poll the traditionally moderate and conservative Vermonters. Unlike the academic elite, who are already behind Hayes, the less-educated Vermonters are going to be looking hard at Hayes for his liberal views.

Manpower vs. Money Power

Hayes' party affiliation will remain a large question. As a Republican, he will have to beat Davis in the primary, a feat unlikely but, if a new primary law is enacted, perhaps not impossible. As a Democrat, Hayes would benefit from existing political organization and finance, but he feels that he might alienate his Republican supporters. As an Independent, he would have to do all his own organizing and fund-raising. He insists that "Manpower can make up for money power sometimes," and adds, "I'm going to have to depend on small contributions and I'm going to have more young people working for me, probably, than any other candidate."

Letters...

(Continued from Page 5)

This is somewhat paralleled in the question of Eve's moral indiscretion, to wit: could Eve possibly commit an immoral act before she knew what immorality was. Eve would indeed have been immoral had she been given the chance to refuse the fruit a second time, **after** her eyes had been opened to the responsibility she had to her act, but **before** she was expelled from the garden. In effect, once discrimination was open to her as a possibility, she then had to be responsible to the implications of any future "events."

Finally, could it be said that no one should have sex who does not **intend** to conceive a child, and thus conclude that there should be no accident conceptions. If not, must the chance of conception lead to the necessity of birth? And then, who is the judge? Chance?

Adrienne Ryder

God Help Us

To the Editor:

I was heartened by Jay Glassman's letter in the March 5 issue of **The Campus.** Jay's defense of the fraternity system, and his promise to fight the present administration over this issue, gave me new confidence in the Inter-Fraternity Council.

I am one of those who violently opposes the mandatory payment of fees to promote the new Social and Dining Units. As Jay suggests, the fee which all members of the college community must pay strikes directly at the fraternity system. Why the hell should fraternity members who wish to socialize at their respective houses, be forced into contributing to the SDU's?

The grandiose proportion of the swindle is what struck me. Is it really true, as Jay claims, that the College allots only $3,000 for the semester, when in fact $60,000 has been collected to promote this "experiment in social control?" Is it true, Dean O'Brien? Is it true, President Armstrong? Where were we all when this outrage was approved? Are we really going to stand for this atrocity?

For many of us, the demise of the sorority system was a disturbing and unfortunate occurrence. Now, the fate of the fraternities must be decided. Will the students of this college bury their heads in studies while the administration upholsters the SDU's? Will the students be so concerned with foreign affairs that they will be unable to recognize the injustices done to the fraternity system? Will the alumni and trustees continue to support an administration which is fighting an integral part of Middlebury social life?. . .only time will tell. . .God help Middlebury if no one will take the time to tell this administration exactly how far its students can be pushed.

Ed Miller

In politics, it's not what's up front that counts — but what's behind the scenes.

Council Considers Sports, Recruiting

The College Council last week discussed the state of intercollegiate athletics at Middlebury and learned of two new developments in the College's continuing effort to attract disadvantaged black and minority group students.

Director of Athletics Richard Coleman was present at the meeting to explain his plans for the expansion of and improvement of the athletic program. Coleman views the present Field House and playing field facilities as inadequate. He anticipates that the college will have to make further capital expenditures in athletics to maintain the quality of the program.

He noted that the physical education requirement is currently under review and stated that by next fall there may be bury's effort to recruit and educate more disadvantaged students. The conference will be attended by members of the administration, several Trustees, a black alumnus of Middlebury, and representatives of the Student Senate and Black Students some easing of the requirement.

Dean of the College Dennis O'Brien announced that the administration is planning a special conference on March 13 to evaluate the progress of Middlefor Mutual Understanding.

O'Brien also revealed that the College is exploring the possibility of establishing an institutional arrangement with Staten Island Community College in New York, by which a group of community college graduates would be admitted annually to Middlebury. Under consideration for next year is a pilot project which would involve the transfer of about 5 to 8 SICC students who would enter Middlebury as juniors.

The student body at SICC is predominantly Black, Puerto Rican, and lower middle-class.

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Roots Of Madness...

Continued from page 5

days encouraged our imperialism, by maintaining that it was only through our tutelage that China could emerge from her slumber into the modern world. It is the point of view which encouraged American right - wingers in the late 1940's and early 1950's to believe that if China was "lost" to the Communists, it was we Americans (or rather our pinko traitors in the State Department) who lost it, because China, presumably, was incapable of this sort of initiative on her own. Or, at the other end of the political spectrum, it is the same as the view which much of the American left holds today, which believes that if we had recognized Mao in 1949, or would recognize him now, all would come up roses.

Whether we believe that we are responsible for China's gains (and pat ourselves on the back) or her ills (and beat our breasts), we have had this paternalistic attitude for too long, and must get rid of it. China is now, and for some time has been, her own master. Western (and Japanese) imperialism was a major factor in China's troubles, but did not cause them; western ineptness in dealing with China since 1949 has not caused all our troubles with that country either. The British, for example, recognized the Peking regime soon after it took power, and have reaped no appreciable benefits from it. Twenty years later, the two countries have yet to exchange ambassadors; the British legation in Peking was burned down in 1967, British citizens and journalists are arrested, and British scholars of China are privy to no sources of information which are unavailable to us. Of course the British are a leading capitalist power, closely linked to the USA, and that does little to raise their stock in China. But what of the Soviet Union? The Russians went well beyond mere diplomatic recognition; they provided aid and comfort, both moral and economic, and their relations with Peking are now almost as bad as ours, and in many ways worse.

I am not trying to say that we should refrain from overtures to Peking; the point is that it would be foolish to expect that such moves will change China's policies. I do not think that anything we might have done in the years before 1949 — either in terms of massive American military intervention, or recognition of Mao — would appreciably have altered the outcome of the civil war, or have improved our relations with Peking, and I do not think that anything we do now, in terms of extending diplomatic recognition, or bringing China into the UN, would make much difference. China is grown up; she makes her own policies. We can, of course, try to influence Peking, and diplo-

(Continued on Page 2)

Anti - Draft

Continued from page 1

"We Won't Go" petition sponsored by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee. Modeled after an open letter endorsed last year by a group of college editors and student body presidents, the statement asserts that the signer will refuse to serve in the military if ordered for induction while the Vietnam war continues.

We Won't Go Pledges

National Moratorium organizers hope to collect thousands of "We Won't Go" pledges by draft-eligible college men and present them at the Congressional hearings on draft reform to be held later this month.

According to a recent Moratorium press release, a successful petition drive will provide "important testimony" at the draft hearings and will "demonstrate that opposition to the war and the draft has not been lessened by the recent rhetoric of Vietnamization or the attempt to pass off the lottery as draft reform."

Draft Card Turn-In

The Mobilization Committee is also circulating a call for a national draft card turn-in. The collected cards will be presented to members of Congress, along with the "We Won't Go" statements.

In focusing its anti-war efforts on the draft system, the Mobe-Moratorium coalition is now promoting various methods of stopping or slowing down Selective Service operations. One technique is "drowning the local boards in their own bureaucracy" — overloading them with correspondence from their registrants.

Overloading

Draft registrants are required by Selective Service law to keep their board informed of all things that may affect their classification; draft boards must place all correspondence from a registrant in his permanent file.

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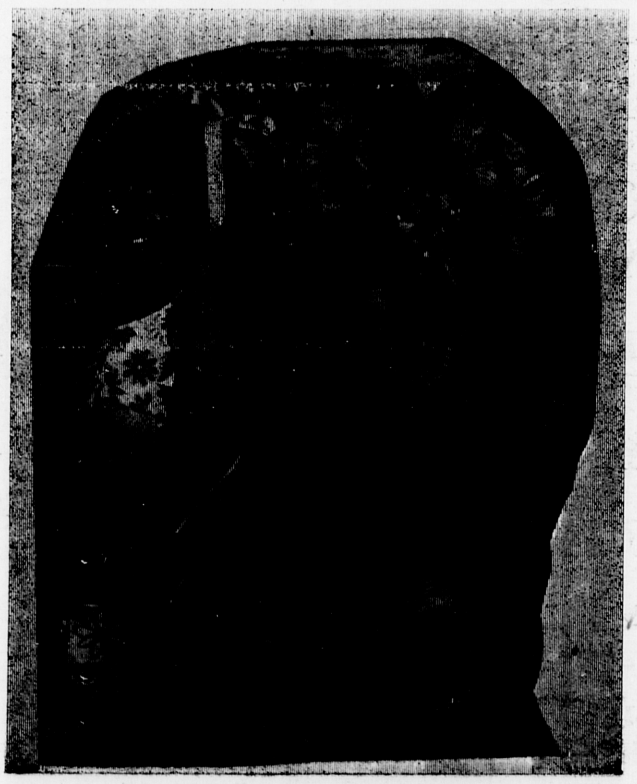

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